ART. I.—The Oceanic Languages Semitic :

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III. THE PRONOMINALS.

Under this head are included the Demonstrative Pronouns, meaning this (here), that (there); and the same Demonstratives used as Articles or Emphatics; as Relatives; as Interrogatives; as Indefinites; and as Reflexives.

§ 1. The Demonstratives.

a. The Fatese demonstrative elements may be thus given :---

- ma (fa, ua, uo).
 i, e, a, u, o.
 sa, se.
 li, lu (ri, ru, ra).
 ni, in, na.
- 6. ke (ga).
- 7. te, tu.

The forms in brackets are phonetic variations. Of these seven demonstratives, 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 are sometimes used alone with a noun, meaning simply "this," as *fatu* stone, *fatu ua*, *fatu i*, *fatu se*, *fatu in*, *fatu ke*, this stone. The other two, 4 and 7, are used thus only in compounds, but their use in this way, and in other ways, clearly shows that they are demonstrative elements exactly like the other five. The compound demonstrative expressions are very common in Fatese (as indeed in other languages). Thus 1, 3 give us uase; 1, 2, uai; 5, 2, nai; 1, 5, uane; 5, 6, naga; 5, 7, netu; 5, 3, nis; 4, 6, arog. Then we have sometimes three elements heaped together, or even four, as, 1, 5, 6, uanaga; 4, 1, 2, riuai; 5, 3, 7, nistu; 6, 3, 7, kistu; 1, 5, 7, uantu; 6, 5, 7, kintu; 4, 1, 5, 6, ru or riuanaga; 2, 4, 1, 2, eriuai. Sometimes the same element is doubled, as *nin*. The general effect of this heaping together of demonstatives is emphasis : compare the vulgar English emphatic "this 'ere" for this.

These seven demonstratives are, as has been shown in II. (on the Numerals), universal in Oceanic; this of course does not mean that they are all equally in use in every dialect. In the above the principal phonetic changes are in 1, m to f(v), u(w), though those in 4, l to r, and in 5, k to g, are also to be noted.

b. The Malagasy demonstratives are thus given in Griffith's Grammar, and are compounded, as will be seen, of the above seven elements :----

Sing. *ity*, *itoy*, *itony*, *io*, *izato*, *izatony*, this. Pl. *ireto*, *iretoy*, *iretony*, *ireo*, *izatoana*, these. Sing. *iroa*, *iny*, *irikitra*, *irokatra*, that. Pl. *iretoana*, *ireny*, *ireroana*, those. Sing. or Pl. *izao*, *izany*, *ilehy*, *iny*, this, that, these, those.

The element 1 (m) appears to be wanting in these, though it may be among them disguised as o(u); it undoubtedly is in the Malagasy, as will be seen below. In the foregoing, r is for l, tr for t, h for k.

c. The Malay demonstatives may easily be seen to be composed of the same elements. Thus *ini*, *itu*, *nun*, and Javanese *iku punika* (p for m) same as Fa. *uanaga*. That s, k, and m (as p), and r for l, sometimes as d, are original demonstrative elements in Malay, as well as *i*, *n*, and *t*, will abundantly appear as we proceed.

d. The Samoan demonstratives are composed of the same elements : —

Sing. o lenei, sinei, sia, this.

Pl. *ia*, *nei*, these

Sing. o lea, o lena, o lela, sena, sisi, siasi, sinasi, that. Pl. na, those.

In these (o is sometimes if not always for ko) 1 and 7 are wanting; but they are found in other Maori-Hawaiian dialects, as for instance, 7, Tahiti *teie*, *tera*, *tena*, this, that; and 1 as a prefixed demonstrative or article in Tahiti vau, Maori wau (for maku), I, and Tahiti vera (ef. Fa. nara, I. § 24), they. This vera is for mera.

§ 2. Comparison.

a. The Semitic demonstrative elements, exactly corresponding to the above as they do, may be thus given :—

$\begin{array}{c} 1. ma. \\ 2. u, i, a. \end{array}$	For these see Dillman, Eth. Gr.,
3. <i>s</i> , <i>z</i> .	§§ 62-65.
4. al, la. \rangle	
5. an, na.	NOTE.—3 and 7 were originally the
6. ka.	same.
7. $t, d.$	

For 1, ma, this, see Sayce, Assy. Gram., p. 60. This ma appears as the interrogative, &c., in all the Semitic, and in all our four Oceanic dialects.

b. These seven demonstrative elements are also heaped together in the Semitic dialects for emphasis, exactly as in the Oceanic, thus :—

Semitic.	Oceanic.
Heb. hua , hia, see I., § 23.	Sam. ia , Malay iya (for ia),
	Tongan aia.
Eth. $u^{e}tu$, Tig. ete	Mg. <i>ity</i> , My. <i>itu</i>
Chald. den, dena.	Tah tena, Mg. itony
Chald. dek, Arb. daka	Santa Cruz deka, Santo ituga
Chald. diken	Vanua Lava tigen
Chald. hanak	Santo neka, naka
Chald. hen, Assy. annu	Mg. iny, My. ini, Fa. in,
	na, ne
Talmud inhu	Fa. inea, My. inia
Tig. nesu	Fa. nis
Tig. nate	Fa. netu
Syr. horko (here)	Fa. erik (this)
Assy. ullu	Mg. aroa, Fa. arai
Eth. eleku, Amh. elehe, pl.	Mg. <i>ilehy</i> , sing. and pl.
Eth. elu, pl.	Mg. <i>ireo</i> , pl.
Heb. <i>eleh</i> , pl.	Tanna iraha, ilia, ila, pl.
Eth. elekuetu, eleketu, pl.	Mg. iroakatra, irikitra, sing.
Eth. elontu, pl.	Mg. ireto, pl.
Chald. ilen, pl.	Mg. <i>ireny</i> , pl.
Eth. ze, Heb. zeh	Fa. se
Assy. su'atu	Mg. <i>izato</i>
Assy. naga, 'aga	Lakon <i>iheog</i> , Java <i>ika</i>
Assy. 'agannu', 'aganna	Norbarbar gene, Fa. kin
Assy. 'agassu	Fa. kis
	в 2

Assy. ammu (ma) Assy. sa'asu, sasu Tig. eziu, sing., pl. Mod. Syr. ani, pl., sing. Eromanga *imo*, yamu Sam. siasi, sisi Mg. *izao*, sing., pl. Sam. *na*, pl., sing.

Note in the foregoing, on both sides, the change of k to h, and of l to r; and as to the latter, compare further Ges. Heb. Dict. s.v. *aru*. Note also that the whole seven elements, and they only, occur on both sides of the comparison in these compounds.

§ 3. ARTICLES OR EMPHATICS.

a. The articles or emphatics by which is meant simply demonstratives, pre-fixed or post-fixed to nouns, have, as the above seven demonstrative elements applied in this particular way, already all come under notice in I. and II., on the Personal Pronouns and Numerals, especially in the latter: see II., § 2. It was there remarked that these are found used with other nouns, as well as with the numerals. Thus (5) Fa. nakasu, nakau, Mg. ny hazo, tree; (4) Sam. le lagi, (2) Fa. elagi, (5) Mg. ny lanitra, heaven; (1) Sam. masina, Sulu fasina, the moon; (5) Fa. nilagi, (1) Sam. matagi, the wind; (1) Fa. makau, a cluster; (7) Ma. tekau, ten; (6) Api or Epi, kabario, (3) simberio and vario, Sanguir vuran, the moon; (4) My. rumah, (5) An. neom, (1) Ahtiago feiom, (3) Fa. suma, house; (6) My. kanak, and anak, (3) Mg. zanak, child; (1) My. bintang, Celebes bituy, Sam. fetu, Fa. masei, An. moijeuv (final v emphatic), (4) Ja. lintang, (6) Mg. kintana, Ceram toi, Matabello toin, star. In the above examples the word for "star," as will appear, begins with t (nt), so that we have as articles prefixed to it m(b, f, &c.), l and k. In many cases these articles have been regarded by Europeans and even by natives, as parts of the original word, so that, for instance, the Fatese often say nasuma for suma, house, as if s were a part of uma, the original word. So the Samoans say o le laau, as if the la of laau were radical, as Bopp also thought it was, in trying to trace it to the Sanscrit brakasa; Prakrit rukka, (see his work "Uber die Verwandtschaft der Malayisch-Polynesischen Sprachen, mit den Indisch-Europaischen," p. 4); whereas it is the article prefixed to the original word au for kau, wood, tree. This may be called the unconscious article, and its being so unconscious, points to far distant ages in the past, when it was the consciously used article. Note in the above some

of the same suffixed as emphatics, as in the Numerals, to which we now add, completing the list thus :---

- 1. Yap. tuv, An. moijeuv, star.
- 2. Epi vario, moon; Mota matai, eye.
- 3. My. alas (Mg. ala), forest.
- 4. My. layar (Tag. layug), sail.
- 5. Mg., My. volana, bulan, moon.
- 6. Rotti bulak, moon.
- 7. Sumatra bulet, moon.

b. The same may now be shown with the Personal Pronouns thus :---

PREFIXED.

- 1. Tah. ovau, Ma. wau, I, Tah. vera, they.
- 2. Tanna iau, Fiji koi au (ko i au), I.
- 3. Mg. izaho, I, Tag. siya, he.
- 4. Sumatra rehu, New Guinea lau, I (IV., § 4, L).
- 5. Torres Islands inau, Santo nau, I.
- 6. Sam. 'ou (for koku), Fa. kinau, I.
- 7. New Guinea tau, Negrito tiyac, I.

POSTFIXED.

- 1. Fa. komam, Mota kamam, we.
- 2. Pentecost kamai, Paama komai, My. kami, we.
- 3. Fa. akamus (also akam, kumu), ye.
- 4. Mallicolo *amru*, ye (but *ru* compares with "*reo*" in Mg. *anareo*, probably).
- 5. Fiji kemuni, ye.
- 6. Torres Islands noke (for nauke), I.
- 7. Duke of York muat, ye.

c. The Fatese articles are n, with vowel before or after, as in, ni, or na, the common article, and e which is more rare, and the indefinite articles, te (=any, whatever), and sikei, "one," "an." Used only with names of persons, we have masculine, or with names of males, ma, and feminine, or with names of females, lai (le, li).

The Malagasy articles are i, ra, and ny (pronounced as Fa. ni), of which i and ra are used only with proper names, and ny is the common article, and identical with Fa. ni, in, na. The indefinite is iray, "one, "an."

The Malay has no article like Fa. ni, Mg. ny. But ini and itu, this, as Crawford remarks (Cr. p. 28), are used sometimes as "equivalent to our definite article, the." The indefinite is sa, "one," "an."

The Samoan common article is *le*, *o* is often used with it, as *o le Atua*, God; or alone, as *o Tangaloa*, Tangaloa. The indefinite article is *se*.

d. The commonest Oceanic article is n (ni, ny, &c.), and it is identical with Fa. in, na, Mg. iny, My. ini, this. It prevails in Madagascar and Papuanesia. Several articles are more or less common to Papuan and Maori-Hawaiian, as Sam. 'o, Fi. ko; Tah. e, Fa. e, or a. Te is common in Maori-Hawaiian, Santa Cruz te, Fa. (indefinite) te. The other articles are of comparatively limited use, except Sam. le. The Malay, which has no general article like the other three branches of Oceanic, makes up for it by a peculiarly large use of suffixed emphatics, somewhat like the Syriac. The unconscious article in the Malay, as l (d), in duwa, lima, 2, 5, is found also in the other branches.

§ 4. ARTICLES AND EMPHATICS, COMPARISON.

 α . For the same demonstrative elements, so many as used, attached to the Semitic numerals (conscious and unconscious articles), see II. As to the Semitic personal pronouns, see I., an (5) is the demonstrative most commonly used, prefixed as an article. Thus it is, especially in the pronouns of the first and second persons, found generally in all the Semitic dialects: Heb. anoki, I. Arb. anta, thou, Heb. anachnu, Arb. nachnu, we, Arb. antum, ye. Now this same element (5) is the one most commonly used thus, with the pronouns in Oceanic, especially in Papuan and Malagasy, also, see I. Thus second person, Mg. hianao (ki ankao), My. angkau (ankau), Fa. nago (nako), Mota iniko. With respect to this an (5), prefixed to the personal pronoun as an article, it is undoubtedly one of the most ancient features of the Semitic languages, and as, in Oceanic, the Papuan has it as fully as the Heb. or Arb., and more fully than the My. or Ma.-Ha., or even perhaps the Mg. We see that in this point it preserves a more archaic aspect than these other two branches. But the Mg. and Pa. equally have this article as the common article for all nouns. In Assyrian, we have

s (3) in see, he, si, she; in Harar k (6) in skhakh, and the same in Assy. cata, thou, Mod. Syr. achton, ye. Tigre niska, thou, nisu, he, nis (5, 3) compound article, or nis, this, ka, thou, and u, he. We find also in Semitic the same suffixed as emphatics, Tigre nisus, he, anas, I, nisutekumos, ye. In this last example n, s, t (5, 3, 7) are heaped together and prefixed, while s (3) is also suffixed. See Fa. akamus, ye, in § 3. In Chald. himon, they, we have n (5) final.

b. Generally, as to nouns, the well-known Semitic articles, Heb. ha, Phen. a, Fa., Tah. e, a, § 3, is prefixed, but in Syriac it is suffixed as an emphatic. So Arb. al or le (as often pronounced), Sam. le (South Arb. m or am), is prefixed. The Ethiopic has no article (prefixed), but appears to have traces of the same post-position article (in the Amharic u), as the Syriac. According to Halevy, the Sabaean (Himyaritic) has as suffixed articles or emphatics, hu, etymologically identical with Syriac a, m, and n, or heu (hu and n). This m ("mimation") he describes as "a true indefinite article" (the other two being definite), and he compares it with the Arb. nunation: see his "Etudes Sabeennes," VI. Thus Sabaean suffixes to nouns (1), (2), and (5), or (2, 5).

c. But, in addition, generally all the demonstrative particles are found occasionally used in the Semitic like articles: just as in Oceanic: see Malay above. As the Latin ille became the article in the Romance dialects, so manifestly both the Semitic and Oceanic articles have been analogously derived, that is, the article was originally a demonstrative, meaning "this," or "he," "she," "it," Thus in Tigre, Jno. ix., 34, we have with sab, man, the demonstrative ete (Eth. $u^{e}tu$, he, this, the), as an article, etesab = the man. So, in verse 24, we have eze, this in ezesab = the man: compare, in verse 39, ze (Eth, ze, Heb. zeh, this), in zeolam = the world. In Syriac, in like manner we have *huo*, this, used as an article, for instance, in Acts viii. 35, huo ketobo = the Scripture. In Mod. Syr. "in general, the pronouns o, e, and ani, are used for the definite article :" Stoddart, Gr., p. 145. This o is in the Heb. hua, and e, hia. In the Semitic and Oceanic, demonstratives are found used both before and after the noun (though most commonly after), hence we find also articles or emphatics both prefixed and post-positive.

d. The Fa. article e (or sometimes a), as in e kobu, or ekobu, the house, is, as Gabelentz ("Sesake-Sprach") saw, a

shortened form of the personal pronoun, third singular, and so, of course, in Tah. e (a). Maori a, Samoan i (with pronouns), San Christoval a, e, i, Mg. i, and My, a, in aku, I (and apa, what?) So Heb. ha, Phen. a, Syr. a, Sabaean hu, Eth. and Amharic u (Halevy VI.), Mod. Syr. o, e, are all shortened forms (Halevy) of the pronoun of the third person singular, which in Heb. is hua, hia. In Syr., Sab., Eth., and Amh., it is suffixed, in Heb. and Phen., prefixed. Eth. like Malay, uses no prefixed article, but uses for the article sometimes u^etu, which is identical with Malay itu, also in like manner used for the article : see for Eth., Dillm., Gr., § 172 a, and note; and for Malay, above, § 33 b. The common Semitic pronominal article an, in, is the common Pa. and Mg. article, not only with pronouns, but nouns, as an, ni, ny, in, na. What in Arb. is al (le), the article is also in Samoan the article le. Thus to exhibit the foregoing tabularly :---

ARTICLES PREFIXED.

- (7) Tah. te (Rarat. te)
- (2) Fa. e, a, Sam. o San Christoval e, i, a Tah. e, Ma. o My. a, Mg. i
- Syr. dĕ (below § 5, b.) Heb. ha Phen. a Mod. Syr. o, e

- (4) Sam. le
- (5) Fa. in, ni, na, Mg. ny, an Tag. ang (an), Article and Relative of Java ing in ingkang, Relative and Article.

Arb. al (le) Heb., &c. an, in

It must be remembered that, though these articles on both sides are undoubtedly identical *etymologically*, that does not imply that they are *used* identically in all points, and in fact they are not. The Mg. an is found, like the Heb. an, used with the pronouns in *hianao* (anao) thou, thee, *hianario* (anario) ye, and in anay, us. Anareo is for ankareo, and this has exactly the same elements as Amharic $al\bar{a}nta$, ye (ta being same as ka, by interchange of t nd k), for ala = reo (areo) = these : see I. The placing of he plural demonstrative before (Amh.) or after (Mg.) he personal pronoun is a mere matter of syntactical transposition.

ARTICLES OR EMPHATICS SUFFIXED.

Oc. § 3, II. § 2.	Se, abon, a, b.
(1) v, m	Sabaean m
(2) o, i	Sabaean hu , Amh. u , Syr. a
(3) s	Tigre s
(5) na, n, ni	Sabaean n

The remark as to etymological identity, and possible or actual difference of use, under the preceding table, applies here also. It will be observed that not all the seven demonstrative elements are on the Semitic side; this, however, may be set down to our ignorance of ancient (and even modern) vulgar Semitic dialects. In Se., as in Oc., the numeral "one" is also used for the indefinite article "an," "a." We formerly showed (in II.) that the numeral "one" itself is of pronominal origin.

§ 5. Relatives.

a. In what follows, the bracketed figures refer to the demonstrative elements as numbered in § 1 a, or § 2 a.

Mg.	My.	Fa. (Pa.)	Sam. (MaHa.)
izao	yang	te	o le
lihy	nen	uane	Tah. te, tei
	Ja. sang, kang	nago	Rarat. te
	Tag. ang (an), na		
	Ja. ingkang (inkan)		

There is a close connection between the article and the relative; yang is often = the; tei is te, the, and i(2); $o l\bar{e}$ is o le, the, and e(2). For *izao*, and *lehy*, see § 2, b. Fa. *uane* (1, 5) is like the English "that," demonstrative and relative, as also is My. *nen* (5, 5), and Fa., S. dialect, *naga* (5, 6).

b. COMPARISON.

sang (3, 5), izao (2, 3, 2)	Eth. za (3, 2), Assy. sa, Heb.
	asher, she (2, 3, 4)
kang (6, 5)	Heb. ki (6, 2)
yang, (a, see below, c.)	Amh. ya, (of Eth. ia, Dillm.
	$\{$ 144 <i>a</i> . $\}$
$t\bar{e}$ (7, 2), te	Chald. di (7, 2), Syr. dĕ, d
o lē	Mod. Arb. ellī, el, (Eth.ela, pl.)
nago, nen, ang, na	Eth. enta (5, 7)
uane (1, 5)	Arb. man (1, 5), ma, Sab.
	ban, ba

The Arb. man and ma differ from uane in being used "substantively," Wright, Arb. Gr. § 248. In Fa. tea is used for both genders and numbers also substantively, and stands for he who, they who, that which, what. The Fa. uane preserves the original demonstrative force much more than the Arb. man, which can hardly be said to preserve it at all. The Amh. "prefixed relative pronoun" yame is, like Fa. tea, used substantively for all genders and numbers.

In Javanese (Crawford, Dissertation, p. 20) "the definite article is represented by the relative pronoun" kang, or sang. The ceremonial is ingkang, perhaps for inkan, if Fa. naga (for naka), thus inka-n, naka. Now in Mod. Syr. (Stoddart, p. 133) the ordinals are formed by prefixing the relative pronoun d, as an article, to the cardinals; d was also used thus in Anc. Syr., Uhlemann's Cr. § 78, B 2, c. So in Fa., My., and Javanese $k\alpha$, or ke (Fa.), identical with the relative pronoun Ja. kang, Heb. ki, is used exactly like the Syr. d, as an article, prefixed to the cardinals, forming ordinals, thus:-Fa. ketolu or katolu, My. katiga, Ja. katalu, Mod. Syr. detela, Tahiti te toru, "third." It occurs also in Mg. as ha, in, e.g., hateloana, three days; where, however, it does not form the ordinal. Now, for the Javanese katalu, we find in Javanese also pengtalu, "third," that is peng appears to be a relative pronoun article like ka. A comparison especially of the prefixed relative articles used in forming the verbal nouns in Ja., Mg., My., Tag., and Fa., shows clearly that it is, and that this p (of *peng*) is identical with (1), and the well-known Semitic prefixed relative article m(1) used in forming verbal nouns. Peng is the same as pun in Ja. punika, Fa. uanaga, see § 1, c. The prefixed relative articles used in forming the verbal nouns are ka (in Mg. as ha) in My., Ja., Tag., and Mg., and in Ma. as kai; and p (in Mg. as mp and f) in My., Ja., Tag., and Mg., Fa., Tag., and Mg. also use *n*, as Fa. *na*, *in*, Tagala *ang* (*an*), and Mg. *ny*. Fiji uses *a*, *ai*, (and *na*, *nai*), which compares with Amh. ya (ia). Fa. uses te and tea in like manner. The Mg. My., Ja., and Tagala p (mp f), prefixed relative article, used in forming nouns from verbs, is, as will be shown, etymologically identical with the common Semitic m similarly used.

c. The relative (or relative article) is used in Oc. Se. prefixed to the pronoun, usually the suffix pronoun, to form the separate Possessive, both with and without an intervening Preposition. We treat here of the relative thus used without the Preposition, leaving the other till the Prepositions come to be considered :---

- (2) a. Fa., Mg., Ma. (and Sam.) prefix a, Amh. ya, as Fa. agu, Mg. ahy, Ma. aku, Amharic yane, my, &c.
- (5) n. Fa., Mg., and Tah. prefix na, an, &c., Eth. enti., Tig. nat, and perhaps na, as Fa. anau, Mg. nyahy, Tah. nau, Eth. entiaya, Tig. nati, my, &c.
- (4) l. Eromanga ari, Sam. la, Ethiopic eli, as Ero. ariyau, Sam. la'u, Eth. eliya, my; Ero. arika, Sam. lau, Eth. eliaka, thy, &c.
- (3) s. Tanna sa, Sam. sa, Ethiopic zi, as Ta. seiau, Sam. sa'u, Eth. ziaya, my, &c.
- (7) t. Eromanga ete, Tah. ta, Mod. Syr. d, as Ero. etiyo, Tah. ta'u, Mod. Syr. diyi, my; Ero. eteko, Tah. ta oe, Mod. Syr. diuk, thy, &c.

§ 6. INTERROGATIVES.

	а.	What ?	
Mg.	My.	Fa. (Pa.)	Sam. (MaHa.)
inona	apa	insifa	ole ā
ino	mana	insa	se ā
inona	pa	insifana	Ma. aha, ha
ino	(in pabila)	insana	
	apa	sefe	Tah. eaha
	mana	nafite	Ha. he aha
		nefe	
		uase	Rarat. eaa
		nefeha	
		Mota sava, sa	
		Epi aba or apa	
		Tanna <i>nufe</i> , <i>tufe</i>	3
		An. inhe	
N · ·	(r) 1 11 1		1 1 / •

Stripping off the well-known articles and emphatics, we find that there is in all these but one interrogative element: thus Malay *apa* is the same as Ma.-Ha. *aha*, *aa*, \bar{a} , and Fa. *nefe*, Tanna *nufe*, An. *inhe*, is the same as Mg. *ino*, and Fa. *nife* is the same as My. *apà*, as is more clearly seen by stripping off the articles *ne* and *a*, which leaves fe = pa = what? In like manner, Rarat. *aa* is the same as Mg. *ino*, An. *inhe*, of which the articles *a* and *in* being stripped off, this is more evident in a = o = he = what? Mota *sa*, article *s* and *a* = what? is by contraction for *sava*, as Fa. *insa*, article *ins* and *a* = what? is for *insefa*. Fa. *nefe* =

sefe = what? the only difference being in the articles ne and se. Finally, to this interrogative element (o, pa, ma, fa, va, fe, ha, he, a,) whether with or without a prefixed article, we find sometimes a demonstrative emphatic, meaning "this," suffixed, as in Mg. in ona, My. mana, Fa. inse fana, or ins āna, and na fete, An. ne vitai, My. a patah, Fa. ne feha (on ne fesa), uase. The interrogative element in the above is originally (1), that is ma, and the phonetic changes of this m here exhibited, are already familiar to us. For the prefixed and suffixed demonstratives (articles or emphatics), see above.

b. Comparison.

(in) 0, (0 le) a, (s) a	Heb. mah
(ins) a, (se) a, (a) a, (in) he	Arb. ma
(a) ha, (a) pa, (se) fe	Eth. mi, Syr. mo
(sa) va, (ne) fe, (tu) fe	Sab. ma and ba, or va (m
(inse) fa	to b or v)
(in) ona, mana	Syr. mun, mon, mono
(inse) fana, (ins) āna	Amh. mene
(na) fete, (ne) vitai	Mod. Arb. made
(a) patah	Mod. Syr. mude

c. Who?

Mg.	My.	Fa. (Pa.)	Sam. (MaHa.)
iza	siapa	sëi, sē	o ai
zovy	sapa	fëi, fē	
	mana	Ero. me (d wi)	Ma. a wai
		Tan, ba	Tah. o vai
		An. thi, Fi. o cei	
		Santo ise	
		Mallic, kihe	
0.0.17	77 0		

Of these Fa. fëi, Eromangan me (dialect wi), Tanna ba, Tahiti vai, Maori wai, Sam. ai, are identical, and consist of two parts, ma (1), as in a and b above, and i, the personal pronoun, third singular: see I., §§ 13, 23. Mg. zovy, My. siapa, sapa, Fa. sëi, Fiji cëi (i.e., thëi), Aneityum thi, are also identical, being exactly the same as those in the preceding sentence, with article s prefixed: thus Fa. sei (north dialect) is Fa. fei (south dialect), with (3) article s prefixed, sefei (Mg. zovy) being contracted to sëi, or sē, as Mg. zovy is to za in iza; and as Mota sava is to sa, and Fa. sefa or safa to sa, and safana to sāna, see a above.

The Pronominals.

d. Comparison-Who?

Mg.	My.	Fa. (Pa.)	Sam. (MaHa.)
me, ba, fëi, vai,) for $mai =$	Heb. mi	(for $mai =$
wai, ai	$\begin{cases} \text{for } mai = \\ \text{what, he, or she?} \end{cases}$		what, he, or she?)
sëi, ise, iza, sapa, zovy	} with (3) article s prefixed		
mana	•		o. man, Ch. man n, ban, or van

Who? plural : see I. §§ 6, 7, 24.

Ero. me-e-mecf Heb. mi hemah = who, they ?Ma. wai macf Heb. mi hemah = who, they ?Fa. se mei, se maniAmh. alaman = these, who ?Santo ro seSanto ?

§ 7. INDEFINITES.

a. In the Oceanic-Semitic, the interrogatives (1) in §6, single or re-duplicated, and with or without prefixed or suffixed emphatics, are used as indefinites, or relative indefinites, signifying "what," "that, which," "whatever," "some," "of what kind soever," "something," "somewhere," &c.; and "whoever," &c., thus :—

Ma. aha, My. apa, Fa. sefa	Heb. mah, Arb. ma
Fa. matuna, fatuna	Ch. mah, mahdi
	Syr. medem
Му. араара	Heb. meumah
Mg. na inona na inona	
My. mana	Syr. mono, Amh. mene
o the personal interrogative v	vho? is used indefinitely in

So the personal interrogative who? is used indefinitely in the sense of "whoever," "some one," "some," "any one," thus :----

Fa. se, Mota isei Mg. nazovy nazovy, na iza na iza My. siapa siapa My. mana

Arb. man

Heb. mi

In the Oceanic-Semitic, many other pronominals, indefinites, &c., are formed from the seven demonstrative elements in \S 1, 2. As usual, in this also the Oc. has greater variety.

b. But very remarkable, and worthy of special notice, is the use of the above (a) indefinite (1) after the verb, which is preceded by the negative, somewhat as we say in English "at all," "however," &c., as "he did not come at all," thus: Fa. "ti mas mau," Amh. "alematame" (*i.e. ale mata me*), Fo. (Ma.-Ha.) "si mai mau," Aniwa (Ma.-Ha.) "si mai mana."

These (leaving out the verbal pronoun) may all be rendered in English, literally, "not come at all," or "not come however;" but as actually used, this suffixed indefinite makes no translatable difference in the sense, giving merely a vague emphasis. Harari agrees with Amharic in this use of this suffixed indefinite: see for Amharic Isenberg, Gr. pp. 152, 3; and for Harari, Burton's "Footsteps in East Africa," Appendix.

§ 8. Reflexives.

In Mg. "self" is expressed by *hiany*, or *tena*, or *niany tena*. These words are purely demonstrative. Compare Maori ano, self, and Arb. *hanu*, "ipse (tu)." Tena compares with My. den, self, Maori tonu, simply, only, self. The My. common word for "self" is diri, which looks like a reduplication of the personal pronoun, 3rd singular, dia, he, she, it. Dia is for ria, that is lia; compare duwa for ruwa, that is luwa, the numeral 2. It (diri) is also used for "he," and in Javanese as dewe (Ja. often vocalises My. r) it alone is used for he, she, it. This diri is substantially identical with Eth. lala, lali, "er er, er selbst, selbst," Dillm. Gram. §§ 62, 150. Like the Ethiopic lali, it takes the genitive suffix of the pronoun, as Eth. lalikamu, My. dirikamu, yourselves, &c.

But the further discussion of Reflexive Pronouns will come under the Verb in its Reflexive or Reciprocal forms.

Note 1.—Also we shall now be prepared, as we proceed, to recognise the pronominal particles used in the conjugation of the Verb, formation of Nouns, Substantives, or Adjectives, and in Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions.

NOTE 2.—As to the Alphabet and changes of letters, all that need be said, till they come to be specially treated, is that in I. and II. changes in letters the Oceanic are exhibited very fully in the words compared; and that, as to a comparison of Oceanic alphabets and letter changes with Semitic (see the Oceanic-Semitic words in I. and II. for some examples of letter changes), we find no other principles exemplified than those we find in comparing the various Semitic dialects, as to Alphabets and letter changes, with each other.

IV. THE VERB.

§ 1. Before speaking of the Verb proper, it seems desirable to say a word or two as to the following particles.

a. The particle of comparison in Oceanic-Semitic is k' (alone or combined with other particles) "as," thus :—

Mg.	My.	Fa. (Pa.)	Sam. (MaHa.)
tahaka	bagai	taka, takan	faapei
	bagibagi	baka, Fi. vaka	v 1
	ka	ki	
hoatra	Ja. kaya, kadi	kite, kita	
	Sunda kawas	kua	

So "how?" literally "as what?" thus :---

ahoana	bagimana	kua	
akory	mangapa Bugis mago	kuin kasa, kasafa kasana	
		kaibea Epi kavai Fi. vakaevei	faapefea
	b. Comparison	n, "as,""thus."	

ka kadi, kite tuha, taka

takane (" as this ") hoatra, kawas kua baga (i), faa, baka, vaka bagaimana bagini Heb. ka, ke Aram. kade, kedi Syr. dak Mod. Syr. daka Syr. dak 'ano ("as this") Eth. kamaze ("as this") Eth. Arb. kama Heb. bek (oh) Eth. bakama Sab. bakana, Heb. beken

Comparison, "how?" ("as what?")

kaibe kavai kua (kuwa) kuin, ahoana, akory kasafa, kasa, kasana mangapa, mago bagimana vakaevei, faapefei

Tigre kamai

The Oceanic-Semitic particles "as" is ka, to which is prefixed the preposition b', Eth. ba, "in," "to," without any appreciable difference often in the sense, either in . Semitic or Oceanic : see the above examples. In Fate, we say either "bisa baka Fate," or "bisa ki Fate," speak Fatese, literally "speak as Fate." So Eth. kama = bakama = as.

§ 2. Now the ka or ki which we have just seen, denotes "as" with or without the preposition ba, denotes also a preposition "to," "towards," &c., as we shall now see, and as before, with or without ba.

Halevy ("Etudes Sabeennes," IX.) has shown that in Sabaean ka = "to" is used as the sign of the accusative and even of the dative, exactly as the preposition le in Hebrew, and especially in Syriac. In Amh. ka (or ha) denotes "to, from, out of, (more) than," Isenberg, Gr., p. 154. We have already seen, III., §§ 1, 2, that ka (6) is an Oc.-Se. demonstrative particle, and III., § 5, that ki is a relative pronoun in Hebrew. As the preposition "to," "towards," we find it thus :—

Mg.	My.	Fa. (Pa.)	Sam. (MaHa.)
$ho ext{ and } hank = ext{any}$ (ank is perhaps for ka)	ka, akan	ki	i ma ki

The other preposition, Eth. ba, Heb. be, ba, Arb. bi, fi, ba, Syr. ba, Fiji vei, Aneityum vai, is found joined with the preceding (k') in the sense of "to," "towards," thus :—

Mg.	My.	Fa.	Sam.
	bagi, baki	baki	Ma. whaka
		d. baka	

Fiji vaka = Fa. baka = "as," "thus;" so Sam. faa, § 1, and My. bagi = Fa. baki, baka = Ma. whaka = "to,""towards," § 2. But the Fate baka, Fi. vaka, "as," has the Heb. and Eth. ka, "as," whereas the My. bagi, Fa. baki or baka, Ma. whaka, "to," has the Sabaean and Amharic ka"to." And so again, the causative prefix, Fa. baka, Fi. vaka, Sam. faa, Ma. whaka, is neither of these, neither "as," nor "to," though it has been generally held to be one or the other, or rather both, compare III., § 16. It cannot be "as," because the ka which alone has the force of "as," is very often entirely wanting in the Oceanic causative prefix; and it cannot be "to," because the b' and k' which express "to" are sometimes both wanting in the Oceanic causative prefix.

The Verb.

The causative prefix, baka, is explained below as b for m, the participial m, a, the causative prefix, and ka, verb substantive. For ka is not only as we have seen, a demonstrative, the particle of comparison "as," and a preposition "to," but as we shall now see, also a final conjunction "that," "to," "in order that," and a verb substantive much used as an auxiliary.

§ 3. The final conjunction ka, signifying "that," "to," "in order that :"—

Mg.	My.	Fa.	Sam.
ka, aoka		ka, ga	i, ia
			Ma. kia

COMPARISON.

Arb. ka

Heb. ki

 $ka \\ i (for ki) \\ kia$

§ 4. VERBS SUBSTANTIVE.

These fall naturally to be considered before discussing the conjugation of the Verb.

a. The particle ka, as a verb substantive. Owing to the practice in Oceanic-Semitic of prefixing the negative adverb to the verb substantive, and forming a compound word, meaning literally "is-not," "no," we have a simple means of comparing Oc. and Se. verbs substantive. The three principal Semitic negative adverbs are Arb. ma, Heb. lo, la, le, Eth. ale, always prefixed, and Eth. i (or ai) also always prefixed. Now these are the three principal negative adverbs in Oceanic also—Heb. le, Sam. le, Fa. ti, ta, ri, and tsi, My. ta, Mg. $ts^{\cdot}y$ and di, are all identical; see for the phonetic changes of l II., on the numeral 2, where also Sam. retains the original l.

Now the verb substantive ka is found thus in Oceanic, with prefixed negative :—

(with I norativa)

	(with t nega	uve)	
Mg.	My.	Fa.	Sam.
tsia (for tsika)	tak Palan diak	tika rika	leai (for le kai)
diahoe (di akoe)		tsika tsia	

Tig. ka

 \mathbf{C}

Compare Arabic *la yakun*, *layaku*. (with *m* negative)

My. bukan Utanata (Pa.) pakana Lifu pako, Epi maka

Mod. Arb. (Baghdad) maku

cf. Arb. ma yakun

(with *i* negative)

Sam. i'ai, Tongan ikai

Eth. ako

As to the weakening of the initial k of this verb to h or a breathing in Mg. and Sam., compare the Amharic in which it is likewise changed to h. In Arabic its final nis sometimes elided. The Arb. kana is much used as an auxiliary: Eth. kon, Amh. hon, My. kana, to be able, seem radically identical with this, as also Mg. hay, to be able. My akan, shall, will, may belong here.

b. The common verb substantive in Malay is ada, to be, identical with Mg. ary. This by the change of l to r, and d, cf. numeral 2, in II., is identical with Eth. halawa, halo, Amh. ala, Tig. ali, verb substantive, to be, and used as an auxiliary. Halevy derives the Arb. article al or hal from this verb, that is, he derives this demonstrative from this verb. In My. with the negative we find it thus: tiada, tida, tada, tadak, and in Mg. as tsiary, tsiadry, (Errub and Maer lola), Ambrym tolo, Bisayan dili, Amharic lela.

With *m* negative we find it in Epi. maraka = My. ta dak. Paama boel, Maori hore. Halevy (Polynesian Grammar) suggests that oloo is a verb substantive in Samoan : Pratt (Sam. Gr.) gives it as loo.

c. In Mg. isy is the common verb substantive, with negative tsy, isy, ts, 'isy. This is identical with Heb. es, Arb. aisa, with negative laisa, leis, Syr. ith, with negative lath, Ch. ita and lo ita. This Semitic verb substantive is used also as an auxiliary in Heb., and especially in Aramaic. It seems to be this verb substantive that we have with negative ma in Segaar mati, Onim matio, Papua kowiay, marate. Connected with this probably, is the demonstrative t, III., § 2, a (7), or s (3), as some Semitic scholars think : see Ges. Heb. Dict. s. v., eth, at end.

d. In Fa. the common verb substantive is bi, fi, in one dialect bai or bei, in another mi. This verb substantive is found widely used in the New Hebrides, with and without the negative. With negative it is in Fa. tiba, riba, tab. It

is identical with Arb. fi, literally "in," and Arb. fih, Eth. bc, literally "in, it," used as a verb substantive in Mod. Arb., Caus. de Percival, Gram. Arab. Vulg., §§ 286-7, and in Ethiopic, Ludolf-Dict. s. v. With negative Eth. aleba, is identical with Fa. tiba, riba; the Arb. with negative ma, is ma fi or ma fih. With Fa. bi, bei, bai, is identical Tahiti vai, "to be."

e. The Javanese verb substantive is ana, to be, to possess. This is found in Mg. manana, to possess, for which see Griffith's Mg. Gr., p. 31. It is identical with Heb. hinneh (Ges. Dict., the demonstrative, III. § 2, a. (5), used as a verb substantive, or auxiliary.) Arb. inne (Newman, Handbook Mod. Arb., p. 43), Eth. ene (Dillmann, Eth. Gr. § 160, a.) and Amharic na, with pronoun na wĕ, "he is," which Isenberg (Gr. p. 64) calls "the Irregular and Defective Verb Substantive." In Oceanic, with the negative it appears in for instance, Gaudalcanar mania. Fa. ane, en (see f), means to be, to abide, to dwell.

f. It has been shown in I., that the Personal Pronoun, third singular, is the same in Oceanic and Semitic. This pronoun originally demonstrative, III., § 1, 2, a. (2), was in Heb. hua, hia, Mod. Arb. hu, hie, Syr. hu, hi, u, i, Mod. Syr. o, e, &c., used as the verb substantive, and in fact, was radically identical with the well-known very ancient verb substantive (much used as an auxiliary) Heb. hayah, Ch. häwāh, Syr. hwo and uo, in Mod. Syr., often a mere vowel. Hence in Mod. Syr. (Stoddart, p. 34), it is impossible to tell whether the modern verb substantive is derived from the ancient verb substantive (whether derived from the ancient verb substantive or pronoun. So in Oceanic we find the verb substantive or pronoun, amounts to the same thing), with the negative thus:—

(With negative *l*.)

Gaudalcanar tau, Ysabel teo, Eromanga tawi, Fiji tawa, Tongan tai. Syr. lau, or lao, and lowo, Mod. Syr. le, wa, &c.

(With negative m.)

Ysabel bai, Gaudalcanar mai, Mara-masiki mau, Florida mua, Nifilole bawo, Mod. Arb. mahu, mu. Compare ma fih, in d.; the fih is fi, "in," "is." and h for hu, "he," "is." The derivation of the preposition fi, and pronoun hu helps to explain how they can be used as verbs substantive. Compare also Mod. Syr. biwa, present participle of the verb wa, to be. For Arb. fi, Eth. ba, &c., the derivation suggested by Halevy is the best. He derives it from the verb, which in Heb. is ba, to enter, come, the cognates in Arb. being baand fa.

The Fa. an, ane (see e.) is sometimes pronounced \dot{a} , as if a were the verb substantive and the n suffixed to it for emphasis, "is, there." The n certainly suggests the ideas of emphasis and distance. With the participial m (soon to be discussed) this in Fa. is ma, and man, as "i ma rarua," it is in the canoe, or "i man tafa," he is (away or yonder) on the hill. In Fa. an is used as an auxiliary to denote continuing action, as *is*, in "he *is* talking."

g. Note how most of these verbs substantive either are derived from pronominals, or become pronominals; for in every case it may not be easy to determine whether the verbal or pronominal idea was the more original. This throws a new light on the demonstrative elements in III. \$\$ 1, 2; with (2) compare f. in this section; with (3) and (7), c.; with (4), b.; with (5), e.; and with (6), a.

h. This throws light also on many of the Oceanic Personal Pronouns. Thus to take those beginning with l, it seems that the l, changed sometimes to r, and d (see b. above) is rather the verb substantive than the article, III. § 3, b. (4), though, as this verb substantive and article are radically identical, it is difficult sometimes to distinguish between them. A comparison of *form* and *use* will prove however that it is really in this case sometimes the verb substantive used as an auxiliary and not the article :—

	Ι	Thou	He	We	Ye	They
Pt. Moresby	r lau					
Lobo	laku					
Sumatra	rehu	rio	dio			
Malay	daku	dikau	dia		dikau	dia
Ja		dika				
Mg.		rika				
		roky				
Nigrito					dicamu	
Fa.					~	ru(eru)
						l ra (era)
Sam.					Dua	l la
Epi						le
Eth.	haloku	haloka	halo		halokemu	-
Amh.	alahu	alah	ale			ala

These generally correspond thus Fa., Eth., Amh., ru or eru, halawu, alu = they are, they were. Fa. eru is a "verbal pronoun," and corresponds to the auxiliary use of the Eth. and Amh. With Eth. elu, originally elum = they are, elafeminine, simple meaning "these:" compare the common word for "they" or "these" in Oceanic (see I.) "They are" readily became "they" and "these." This thoroughly explains the prefixed l(r, d) in the numeral 2, Mg. roa, My. duwa, Fa. rua, Sam. lua (see II.), and in the Dual Verbal Pronoun, Fa. ra, or era, Sam. la (see I.); originally identical that with the Numeral is the Article, that with the Pronoun is the Verb Substantive. And thus we see also why the numeral is rua, lua (r-ua, l-ua), the pronoun ra, la (r-a, l-a), the numeral being the separate dual pronoun uma, huma, with the article \tilde{l} prefixed to it, whereas the pronoun is really the 3rd person dual of the perfect of the verb substantive. Thus ra, la consists of r or l, the verb substantive, and the suffixed verbal dual pronoun a, contracted for huma, as it is found in, for instance, Arb. (a contracted for huma) in the 3rd person dual of the perfect of verbs. Ra, era, and la, and Fa. ru or eru (3rd person plural of the perfect of the verb substantive), point to a very ancient time when the Oceanic languages possessed the suffixes of the perfect, and we may infer the imperfect inflexion also, like all the ancient Semitic languages; and when probably the ancient Semitic mother-tongue of the Arb. and Eth. had not yet given birth to these two daughters; but when, even then, before the Oceanic branch shot out over the sea, and become separate from the parent stem, the original huma, as suffixed to the verb 3rd person dual perfect, had become contracted to a.

It is quite certain then, that in Oceanic, some of the personal pronouns, whether separate or verbal pronouns, are really ancient Semitic inflexional compounds of the personal pronouns and a verb substantive, that in common use have come to be regarded as mere personal pronouns, or even in the third person, as mere demonstratives, like "this" or "these."

Take another Semitic verb substantive in Arb. kana, with sometimes the *n* elided, Eth. kon, usually as ka in Oceanic, with the *n* elided, and compare Eromangan kik, Fate kag, and kaiga (for kak, kaika,) Harari akhakh, Malay kangkau(cf. dikau), thou, with Eth. konka, thou art (Arb. konta), second person singular of the perfect.

The third great Semitic verb substantive and auxiliary, see f. above, is generally in Oceanic, and often in Mod. Syr., a mere vowel, and on this account, and because of the difficulty or impossibility of always distinguishing between the verb substantive and the demonstrative radically connected with it, we do not discuss it in this connection at present. As to the verbal pronouns or "fragmentary pronouns," we find them in some dialects of Oceanic and Mod. Syr., the ancient so-called tense-inflexion being lost, used with the participle: see Stoddart, p. 161. But neither in Mod. Syr. nor Oceanic are they all the same as in the ancient Semitic. Yet some are the same, and those independently formed are equally with the ancient Semitic verbal pronoun, fragments of the full or separate pronoun, and having the same elements radically identical. See the separate and verbal pronouns in I., and compare the suffixed nominative "fragments" in the so-called "pronominal adjunctive" of the Malagasy.

A fourth great Semitic verb substantive, see c. above, has the same ambiguity (verb or demonstrative) about it, and is used with the personal pronoun before a participle for the finite verb, thus Heb. eshka moshia, thou savest, literally "thou-art saving." This explains the Oceanic method, and particularly the Mg. pronoun with the verb, thus, izaho =I am; izy, he is; izahay, we are; isikia, we are, inclusive; that is, the Mg. iza, isi, is substantially identical with the Heb. verb substantive, esh, Aram. ith, and the compound of this with the personal pronoun expresses with the participle the finite verb: compare Negrito siko, Heb. eshka, thou (art), and Negrito sikam, Heb. eshkem, ye (are), with Syr. itha, I am, compare Sam. ita, I (am).

Again, to take the ambiguous or demonstrative verb substantive of e above, it is used exactly in the same way before a participle in Semitic for the finite verb: thus compare Heb. hinka, Mod. Arb. innek, Amh. nah, with Sumatra enko, Mota iniko, Motlav. inek, nek, Fa. nago (for nako), Malay angkau (for ankau), thou (art), the last is plural: compare Heb. hinkem, Arb. innekom, with it, and with Fa. nimu (for nikemu), ye (are). So compare My. inia, Fa. enea, nai, with Arb. inneho, Heb. hinno, Amh. nawe, he (is).

§ 5. In the Semitic languages we find sometimes the finite verb, in the present, past, and future tenses, expressed in the manner just pointed out, by these verbs substantive or pronominal particles with personal pronouns attached, along with the participle; or by the participle alone: Ges. Heb. Gr. § 134. The participle with the separate personal pronoun, or noun in the nominative, in Anc. Syr. denoted the present tense (see Ahlemann's Gram. § 64, 2, a); in the same way, and sometimes by help of the auxiliary verb and particles, it denoted the past and the future, Ibid. B. and C.; and the various moods, Ibid. 3. In Syr., Ibid. § 65, 1, A., the present is expressed "usually by the participle," in the manner just noted; and so the past, Ibid. B. The Oceanic Semitic personal pronouns in the nominative include, more or less clearly, the idea of the verb substantive. The tenses of the Oceanic verb are, generally speaking, as we shall now see, expressed in the above way by means of the participle; the ancient Semitic tense-forms, called the perfect and imperfect, having disappeared from the Oceanic, perhaps to a still greater extent than from the Mod. Syr.

§ 6. THE TENSES.

a. The Present. The present tense in Oceanic is expressed generally by the participle alone, but sometimes emphasised by a verb substantive or particle. Crawford (My. Gr. p. 48) says, "The verb in its simple or compound form expresses present time, when no other is specified or implied, as diya makan, he eats." So Mg. izy mihinana, Fa. i kani, Sam. e'ai oia (ps. 'aina), he eats. In the Sam. alone, in these examples, a particle e is used. In this word, m is prefixed in Mg. and My., not in Fa. and Sam. But in Mg. izy matahotra, My. diya manakut, Fa. i mitaku, Sam. e mata'u oia, he fears, the m is prefixed in all. But while this verb never appears in Fa. and Sam, without the m, in Mg. we have it as tahotra, and in My. as takut. This prefixed m is most used in Mg., next most in My.; and in Mg. it is most used in the present tense, and hence by some people has come erroneously to be regarded as a mere sign of the present in that language. It is, however, in Mg. what it is in My., Fa. and Sam., and that is, the m of the participle, and it is because it is such that it so naturally and usually expresses the present, though it not infrequently expresses the past in Oceanic. This m is undoubtedly identical with the common and well-known Semitic m, originally pronominal (III. § 2, a (1), Ges. Heb. Gr. § 52, 1) of the participle; and the Semitic participle, with and without

the prefixed m, is used in exactly the same way as the corresponding Oceanic participle, to express usually the present tense, but pretty often also the past: see § 5. This m will frequently come before us as we proceed in connection with the other parts of our subject.

In My. the verb substantive ada, in Sam. loo and o, § 4, b, f, in Fa. mo, bo, coming before the participle, have the same effect as the verb substantive in English before the present participle, as, $ada \ makan =$ bo kani = is, or are eating. Fa. mo or bo is the verb substantive in § 4, f, with the participial m prefixed, or it is the participle of the verb substantive. For the Sam. sign of the present (also of the future): see § 4, f.

b. The Past.

Mg.	My.	Fa.	Sam.
n	de, di	ka	ua (also present)
		(d. <i>kui</i>)	Ma kua
(t, with	Tag. na	Fi. ka	Tongan na
adverbs)		Tan. n, in	Sam. na
		Fi. α	Rarat. i
		Fi. sa (also present	
		and future)	

1. N, in, na. For this demonstrative verb substantive auxiliary in Semitic: see § 4, e. It is used in Heb. with the participle to denote the present, the past, and the future: see § 5, and Ges. Dict. s. v. hinneh, at end. In Motlav (Pa.), it denotes the present, and also in Tagala (present and past), in Fiji, it denotes the future.

2. Sa (past, present, and future); t, Sam. te (present and future). For Semitic, see § 4, c.

3. Ka, kui, ua, kua (Tongan gua, Fotuna ko, present; Rarat., Fotuna, Aniwa, ka, Florida and Gaudaleanar ke, Mg. h (for k), ho (for ko, with adverbs), future. For Semitic, see § 4, a., Mod. Syr. ke, narrative tense.

4. De, di, past and future. For Semitic, see § 4, b.

5. A, i. For Semitic, see § 4, f. Mod. Syr. αi or i, narrative tense.

In Hawaiian, e before the verb, sign of present and future, after the verb, "signifies *previous*, *beforehand*, and forms thus, with the preterite a sort of pluperfect, and with the future a second future," as *ua lawe e au*, I had taken, *e lawe e au*, I shall have taken, Hale, Po. Gr. So in Fa.,

The Verb.

but in Fa. the *e* is put immediately after the sign of the preterite, ka (= ua, Hawaiian), and future, ga (= *e*, Hawaiian), thus a ka e ban, I had gone, a ga e ban, I shall have gone. For a pluperfect and future perfect formed by the same verb substantive, § 4, *f*., put after a preterite and future : see Uhlem. Syr. Gr., § 65, D.A., cf. Mod. Syr., Stoddart, p. 40.

		c. Future.	
Mg.	My.	Fa.	Sam.
h	akan	ga bo	e, te
	de, di	ga uo	
		go	Rarat. ka
	·	go ka fo	${f Fotuna}{Aniwa} ka$
		ba mo	Aniwa \int_{0}^{∞}
		Florida <i>ke</i>	Tah. e
		Fi. na	
		Mota te, Tan. te	
		San Christoval i	

1. *na*, see *b*. 1.

2. te, see b. 2.

3. h (for k), ka, ke, see b. 3.

4. de, di, see b. 4.

5. e, i, see b. 5. The Syr. verb substantive $(\S 4 f)$ before the participle expressed the future.

6. ka, ga, Fa., see § 3.

7. mo, bo, fo, see a. above.

8. ba, mba (Mg. fa, mba) = ga, in 6. Compare Arb. fa, which sometimes "plays the role of a final conjunction."

§ 7. THE MOODS.

The Imperative, or Permissive, Conjunctive and Infinitive.

Mg.	My.	Fa.	Sam.
cf. ho and hi aoka (for as, § 4, f.)	de	ba ko, ki bafo, kofo Fi. me Mota si	ia ē, ina ē ia (for kia) Rarat. ka kia
		Gaudalcanar ti	

1. ko, ki, ia, ka, kia, see a. 2.

2. ba, me, see a. 3.

3. ia \bar{e} , ko fo, ba fo (contracted to bo), see for e and fo, § 6, c.

So in Chaldee, the final conjunction, le (originally Arb. li) prefixed thus to the same verb substantive, gives it a "conjunctive, optative, and imperative power," Ges. Heb. Dict., s. v. l. The Chaldee conjunction is le, the Fa., Fi., and Sam. equivalents, ba, Fi. me (Arb. fa; ki, ia (for kia), ka (Arb. ka, Tigre ka), have already been dealt with. Gaudalcanar ti compares with Ch. Syr. di, de, and Mota si, with Eth. za, Sam. and Hawaiian ina, with Arb. an, final conjunctions; and with Sam. ina e; compare An. namu (mu = Fa. mo, fo, bo, § 6, a.) The infinitive thus expressed is like the English "to go," or "that he go," e.g., "I told him to," or "that he should go;" so Mod. Syr. Stoddart, p. 166. Thus the Oceanic uses the same particles before the verb to express these moods as the Semitic; the Anc. Se. uses generally the imperfect ("future") of the verb after these particles, but sometimes the participle : Syr. Gr. § 64. The Oc., like the Mod. Syr., having lost the inflexion of the imperfect, uses the participle instead after these particles, just as does the Mod. Syr.: Stoddart, p. 108. This of course follows from the fact that in the tenses, §§ 5, 6, the participle has, in Mod. Syr. and Oceanic, taken the place of the Anc. Se. imperfect. In Oc.-Se. the infinitive is sometimes expressed by one verb following another, without any prefixed particle; the following verb in Oc. is the participle: compare Syr. for the same, Gr. § 64.

My. de is to be compared with the Chaldee final conjunction le, Arb. li.

4. The infinitive verbal noun will be treated of below.

5. The My. imperative is expressed very much like the English by the verb used alone, as *makan*, eat, or with the pronoun following it, *makan kamu*, eat ye.

6. The Mg. expresses the imperative, 2nd person, by suffixing a to the verb, as mandrobo, to flatter, mandroboa, flatter. So Javanese suffixes a, and sometimes an, as balang, to throw, balanga, throw, kon, to order, konan, order. Crawford, Diss. p. 25, says, "The Javanese imperative affords, with the exception of the Javanese genetive, the only example, that I am aware of, in the Malayan languages of an inflexion." This Mg. and Ja. a is undoubtedly the same a which is suffixed to the ordinary imperative in Heb. to form the emphatic imperative (Ges. Gr. § 48, 5), as "qum, stand up, quma, up! ten, give, těna, give! In Mg. also the suffixing of this a causes the accent to be strongly thrown torward towards the end of the word, thus, "mandràra, to forbid, mandrarà, forbid." So mandèha, to go, mandehàna, begone ! And the suffixed an of the Javanese seems also undoubtedly the same as the an of the Energie Imperative of the Arb., as uqtul, ordinary imperative, kill, uqtulan, kill !

§ 8. The Participle.

We have seen in the foregoing that the Oc. verb, present tense, corresponds to the Anc. Semitic participle. The m participial inflexion is one of the striking features of the Semitic languages, as it is also in an unmistakable manner of the Oceanic languages : see § 6. More will be found below on the passive participle with m, and the formation of verbal nouns.

§ 9. Particles connecting the Verb with its object.

a. These particles direct the action of the verb to the object, giving it either a transitive or a causative force. Many of them have been glued on as suffixes to the verb, especially in Mg. and My., though in Fa. and Sam. also, and now appear in the dictionaries as radicals; thus the verb "to drink" appears in the My. dictionary as *minum*, as if the final m were a radical letter, whereas a comparison of dialects, Fa. *minu*, Sam. *inu*, shows that it is not, being the suffixed transitive particle. Not all verbs take these particles in Oceanic; some govern the object directly, without any intervening particle :—

	01	TT (T))	~
Mg.	My.	Fa. (Pa.)	Sam.
(a)	kan, i	ki, baki	i, ia
ami	Ja. ake, akan	fi, gi, mi, ti, ri	ia, te
	i, ni, kakan	si, saki, maki	Rarat ki
		taki, raki, naki	i, ia
	0	Fi. a, ca, ga, ka	
		ma, na, ra, ta	
		va, wa, ya, caka	
		kaka, laka, maka	
		raka, taka, vaka	
		waka, yaka	
		-Ero. ra , ira , pu , or bu	i
		An. ira, vai, an	
		Tan. ya , te	
		Epi. ba, ban, ka, kan	ı
		Florida <i>li, lagi</i>	
		vi, vagi	

b. The force of these, and the extent to which they are used in different dialects vary. In Mg. a, in Sam. te (ia te) are used before pronouns. We may now compare :—

- 1. A, ia, i, ki, ya. Arb. iya, ka, ki, kan ("to"), Amh. ka, Eth. kiya, Sab. ka.
- 2. An, ni. Tig. en-, or ne, accusative sign. Heb., Ch., an, en, "nun epenthetic," or "nun demonstrative."
- 3. Ca, te, ti, ta; si. Heb. oth, et.
- 4. Mg. ami, Fa. mi, Fi. ma, Heb. 'im, Arb. ma, Syr. 'ame ("with," &c.)
- 5. Ri, ra, li, ira ("to, at"), Heb. le, Arb. li.
- 6. Ba, va, bu, vi, fi ("to, in") Syr. ba, Heb., Arb., Eth. ba.

Eth. kiya, Arb. iya, Heb. oth or et, are pronominals or demonstratives used as signs of the accusative before pronouns. But Eth. kiya in Sabaean as ka (Halevy 93, rightly) is used as the mark of the verb object before pronouns and nouns; Heb. et is so also; and Arb. iya, identical with Eth. kiya, as ki, i, and ia, or ya, is used in Oc. as the mark of the verb object before nouns and pronouns. On the origin of kiya, see Dillmann Eth. Gr. §§ 65, 150. Thus Sam. *i*, *ia*, is for *ki*, *kia*, and so of course Malay i is for ki, as Arb. iya (another form nearer the original is hiya, Wr. Arb. Gr. I. § 188) is for kiya. For the pronominal origin of Heb. oth, et (Aram. at, iat or yat), see Ges. Heb. Dict. s. v. Eth. kiya is a compound of the demonstrative k', and the demonstrative used as the 3rd person singular i, or ia, he, ipse, self, Ges. s. v. This is why these compounds, Eth. kiya, Arb. iya or hiya, Heb. oth or et, Aram. yath (i.e. ia th, cf. Sam. ia te), also have the meaning sometimes of self. As to the double use as a demonstrative and a preposition, see III. §§ 1, 2, and IV. § 2; and as to the derivation of prepositions generally from pronominals, see Bopp, work cited, p. 113. It is certain, however, that not all the Oc.-Se. prepositions are derived from pronominals.

c. As to the prepositions 1, 4, 5, 6, their general meanings are given above, but when used as particles connecting the verb with its object, it is impossible to give briefly their very various meanings and uses. The dictionaries and grammars must be consulted. For instance, 5 is much used, especially in Aramaic, as a mere mark of the verb object, as it is in Bugis ri, Eromanga ira, ra (Gordon's M. S.

Grammar), Aneityum ira, irai (in Gabelentz); exactly so, 1, ka (ki, i, &c.), is often used as a mere mark of the verb object in Sabaean, and in My., Fa., and Sam. (i for ki, cf. Raratongan). So also 6, ba. &c., is used in Heb. sometimes as a mere transitive particle (Ges.) between the verb and its object, as in Fi. vei and An. vai (in Gabelentz). In each of these three particles, the notion of motion to is radical. In Hazlewood's Fi. Gr., 2nd Ed., p. 33, it is said, "it appears also to be a rule that verbs of motion will take va for their termination, as *lakova*" (*lako*, to go), and on p. 35, *va* is identified with the preposition *vei*, "to," "in," literally "in it," An. vai, it being pointed out that "va in the Rewa dialect is still the same as vei or ki, to :" compare III., § 2. Fi. combines these two prepositions, thus kivei (ki first) = Fa. baki, Maori whaka, Malay bagi, "to," "towards," (ba first). The preposition, 4, "with," &c., is very common in Mg., Papuan, and Ma.-Ha. But when used as a particle between the verb and its object, its meanings are very various, as may be seen by consulting on the one hand, the Mg. Dict. of Freeman and Johns, and Cr. Gr., pp. 198, 221-2; and on the other, Ges. Heb. Dict., under the word.

It has already been remarked that the verb followed d. by these particles, has either a transitive or causative force. Thus Fi. " sobuca na vanua (go down), sobutaka na vanua (take down)," that is, the latter with compound particle, taka, is causative, the former has ia merely pointing to the verb object. Compare Fi, rogo ca, to hear (ca makes it transitive), rogo taka, or rogorogo taka, to tell, to cause to be heard. In Fa. this verb is transitive, by merely putting the object after it without any particle, like ca, but the particle ki, instead of taka, makes it causative, as rog nafisan, hear the word, rogorog ki nafisan, proclaim, or make to be heard the word. In My. the transitive is dangar, in which the particle r, 5, is glued on to the verb danga = Fa. rogo, (pronounced rongo), and Ero. digi (pronounced dingi). My. i (for ki) and kan (ki strengthened by demonstrative n or an), are exactly like the others, thus My. tangisi, to bewail, and tangiskan, id., are the same as Fi. tagica and tagicaka, Fa. tagisi, all being merely transitive; but in My. tukuti, takutkan, to frighten, the particles (i and kan) give the verb a causative force. To both of these words, tangis and takut, before the particles i and kan are attached, it is to be noted that the particles s and t had been in ancient times attached, so that now they are treated as if a part of the root. This, however, they are not, for these verbs in, for instance, Fa. are intransitive, tagi, to wail, tagisi, transitive, to bewail, Sam. tagi, to wail, passive, tagisia (when the same particle s appears); Fa. mitaku, to fear: cf. Sam. mata 'u, Fa. transitive, mitau ki, Bugis, matau ri, Sam. passive, mata 'utia, in which the same t transitive particle, as in takut, appears : cf. also Mg. matahotra (which seems to be for *mataku-ra*, rather than *mataku-ta*: compare ampitahorina, in which the tr is r), in which the tr may be for r, the same transitive particle (ri), as appears in the These examples show how the verb object particles Bugis. or ancient prepositions used as such, have become disguised in the lapse of ages, and made to appear radical parts of the verbs; and they show also, that at least, to a large extent, the particles are used for one another in different dialects, in Oceanic, just as in Semitic. Such particles sometimes gave to the verb, in Semitic also, a causative as well as a transitive force; thus Ges. says, "Since be in this signification is a particle of *transition*, it is not to be wondered at that it should give a transitive power to some verbs, and even a causative, such as is elsewhere expressed by the conjugation Hiphel." The common Oceanic particle giving this causative force to some verbs is i (for ki), or ki, ka, either compounded with other particles for emphasis, as ake, kan, or alone, and synonymous with ba as a "particle of transition," having the meaning of "to."

e. With respect to the Sam. passives tagisia, mata'utia, the s and t are the verb object particles, and the other particles, as well as these are found in the Ma.-Ha. passives 1, and reciprocal form 2, and in the Mg., My., Fa. and Sam. verbal noun terminations 3, thus :—

2. Sam. 'i, a'i, fa'i, sa'i, ta'i, ma'i na'i, la'i.

1. Ma. kia, ngia, Sam. fia, gia, lia, mia, sia, tia.

3. Ma. ranga, manga, anga, Sam. saga, taga, 'aga, laga, faga, maga, aga.

In these ga (i.e. nga) is for na, the original n having been changed to ng. The verbal noun terminations, 3, in Fa. are an or ena, siena, tiena, kien, rien, fien, mien, nien (the final a not always pronounced, e is for a); so My. san, tan, gan, ran, pan, man, nan; so Mg. ana, sana, zana, tana, hana (for kana), rana, fana, vana, mana. In the above 1, 3, the first letter is in every case the verb object particle, with which we are now familiar; in 2 these particles are, except the first, compounded (cf. Fi. aka, vaka, &c.) of a, fa, sa, ta, ma, na and la, and ki. It may be remarked that these particles are found occasionally in the Sam. Dict. glued on to the simple verb (as in Mg. and My., and sometimes in Fa.), for instance 'i in tafa'i, fa'i in atofa'i, a'i in gava'i, ta'i in lapata'i, sa'i in leoleosa'i, na'i in taona'i, and ma'i in tanuma'i.

NOTE.—The Semitic preposition (often used like the above 1, 4, 5, 6, as a verb object particle) "from," &c., in Heb. and Arb. min, mi, Syr. men, Eth. ema, Sab. m, b (Halevy 95) is undoubtedly in Oceanic used as a verb object particle like the above, but it need not be said that it is impossible to distinguish it, so far as its form or sound is concerned, owing to phonetic similarity and corruption from 4 (m), and 6 (b). It can only be distinguished from them by the sense and the usage.

§ 10. THE DERIVED VERB FORMS. A. The Causative.

This is formed by a prefixed particle which is really the same in every case, though sometimes apparently different, thus:---

Mg.	My.	Fa.	Sam.
1. ma, man, &c.	ma, man	ba, bĭ	Ma. wha
a, an	mang	Fi. Mota va	
	Ja. a, an	Lifu, Mare a	
2. mampi, mampa,	ang	Aneityum imi	•
ampi, ampa, amp	an	Ero. ampĭ	
3. maha, mampaha		Fa. baka, faka	Sam. faa
aha, ampaha		Fi. vaka	Ma. whaka
		Mota vaga	Rarat. aka

The causative particle in all these prefixes is a, which sometimes, but rarely, is weakened to \check{e} or \check{i} . Thus to take :—

1. Mg, ma, man, Fi., Fa., Mota ba, va, Ma. wha, and My. ma, are all identical. But Mg. ma is a compound of the participial m, and the causative prefix a; in the future and past tenses only the a appears, as velona, alive, mamelona, make alive, future hamelona, shall make alive, past namelona, made alive. The a alone therefore is the causative prefix. Compare Lifu and Mare a. In Fa. ba, Fi. va, Ma. wha, the

participial m is changed into b, v, and wh, and like the My. m in ma is inseparably attached to the a, that is (as in the Mod. Syr. causative) only the participle is used.

2. We have the very same as this Fa. ba, Fi. and Mota va, Ma. wha, in An. imi, Ero. ampi, Mg. ampi, ampa; but to this also Mg. prefixes the participial m. The same is found sometimes in Papuan, Araga as $ma \ va$ (Codrington, "The Melanesian Languages," p. 187.) It is really doubling the participial m, though unconsciously.

3. In Mg. maha we have the participial m as before separable, a the causative prefix, and the verb substantive hv (see above § 4, a., and § 6, b.), so that aha means make to be. In Papuan and Ma.-Ha. this m being as before inseparable and changed to b, f, and v, and wh, in baka, faa, vaka, whaka, vaga, and in Mg. itself, as in 2, inseparable and changed into mp., as in ampa, in ampaha. Again as in 2, before ampa, so before mapaha, Mg. admits the participial m.

b. The above may be thus shown :--

1. The simple caus. Oc. prefix Mg. a. Lifu, Mare a.

2. This a with the participial m (changed to b, f, v, wh, mp, &c.) as Mg. ampa, An. imi, Ero. ampe, My. ma, Fa. ba (bi), Fi., Mota va ma, wha.

3. The simple a prefixed inseparably to the verb substantive Mg. aha, Rarat. aka.

4. The *a* with the inseparable *m*, in 2, prefixed inseparably to this verb substantive, Mg. *ampaha*, Fa. *baka*, *faka*, Fi. *vaka*, Mota *vaga*, Sam. *faa*, Ma. *whaka*.

NOTE 1.—Perhaps Rarat. aka belongs to 4, not to 3.

NOTE 2.—While the above as compared are etymologically identical, allowance must be made for difference of use.

NOTE 3—In Mg. and My. man, mang, Ja. an, ang, the n, ng, may be roughly described as euphonic, though, as will be seen below, they are not perhaps purely euphonic. The other phonetic changes are mainly those of m (participial) to b, f, v, wh, and mp. The a also appears sometimes, but rarely, as \check{v} or \check{e} .

c. Comparison : see Semitic Grammars.

The causative is formed in Syr., Assy., Arb., and Eth., by prefixing α (sometimes weakened to \check{e} , \check{i}), this has been softened from $h\alpha$, of which the h is retained in Sab. and

Heb. This h is generally believed by Semitic authorities to be weakened from an original s (sometimes sh and t, in Shaphel and Thaphel): see Dillmann, § 79, Wright I., § 45, Halevy, p. 37, points out that this h is regularly s in one Sab. dialect. Shaphel, as well as Aphel, is used in Aram. In Assy., Shaphel is the more prevalent, as well as original form: Layer, Assy. Gr., p, 63. The causative participle has of course the m prefixed, and its vowel was originally a as preserved yet in Heb. and Syr. The Syr. causative participle is of the form *Maphel*, Heb. *Maktil*. This participle came to be used sometimes in Syr. as a distinct causative form, and was called the Maphel (conjugation) form, and it is the only causative form now used in Mod. Syr. : Stoddart, p. 110.

Thus the a of b. 1, is the a of the Aphel form; and the ma (ba, fa, &c.) of b. 2, is the ma of the Maphel form; in b. 3, we have the Aphel or causative of the verb substantive, ha, ka; and in b. 4, the causative of the same Maphel form.

NOTE.—As to the nasal n, ng, of b, note 3, while it is so far euphonic, it may *sometimes* or in some measure, represent the consonant of the *original* Semitic causative particle :

Mg.	My.	Fa.	Sam.
live, velona	idup	mauri, Fl. vola	ola
die, maty	mate	mate (Fi. id.)	mate
fear, tahotra	takut	mitaku	mata 'u
		An. <i>imtae</i>	

Causative.

mamelona	mangidupi	bakamauri	faaola
	U 1	Fl. vavola	v
mahafaty	mamatikan	Fi. vakamatea	tamate
mahatahotra	manakuti	bakamatakuki	faa
		An. <i>imiimtac</i>	mata 'u

NOTE 1.—Fi. and My. use the transitive suffixes with the causative; in Fa. ki is often used in like manner.

NOTE 2.—The same changes of this participial m to f, and mp, occurs in the verbal nouns. So also in Mg. fahadimy ny, ampahadimy ny (dimy 5). Compare Mg. "faharoany, ampaharoany, the second," for change of faand ampa; and compare Santo "vakaruana, second" (Gordon). For "to do a second time," the Mg. uses in the foregoing instances, the causative prefix without the verb

D

substantive ha, as manindroa, for maniroa, i.e., marua = Epi. varua; so for "to do a third time," Mg. manintelo, for manitelo, i.e., matelo = Epi. vatolu. In Fa. and Sam. the causative of the verb substantive (ka) is used, as bakatolu, faatolu, bakarua, faalua. To turn the numeral into a verb, with very various meanings is common to Oc. and Se.: compare in Heb. the numeral 3, which treated as a verb, Piel form, has as one of its meanings (Ges), "to do a third time;" and the numeral 10, which in either the Piel or Hiphil (causative) form, means "to give tithes," " to tenth." In these it is not the verb form, but usage, that has determined special meanings.

It may be observed that just as in Pa. and Ma.-Ha. va, and vaka have about the same force (My. never uses the verb substantive, ka, thus); so Mg. ma, and maha, and mampa, and mampaha, have all about the same force, thus :—isy, to be, manisy and mampisy, to make to be; so vitrikia, vigour, causative mahavitrikia, and mampahavitrikia, to make vigorous, to inspirit.

d. It will be noticed in the above that the Sam. causative of the verb mate, to die, is tamate; that is the causative prefix is ta. This is a well-known causative prefix in the Ma.-Ha. Halevy (Ro. Gr. § 54) has observed that in most, if not all, of these dialects, ta is also employed as a causative prefix, "as Tahiti tamā, to cleanse, from mā, clean." It is especially common in Tahiti : see the Tah. Dict. s. v., where it is said to have the same force as faa. Sam. faafana, to warm food over again, Tah. tahana, Mg. manafana, and mahafanafana.

This ta, causative prefix, is the tha or ta that appears in Syr. Thaphel (Heb. Tiphel) of which we formerly spoke.

e. If we have in Oceanic the one form of the Semitic causative prefix in ta, it is only reasonable to expect to find the other sa (Shaphel or Saphel). In Fa. we have fera, or berafera, to be scattered, dispersed; taferafera, scattered (reflexive to be explained below); My. tabur; causative sabera ki, to scatter (anything); My. sibar; Java sabar (and mawur), id. In Fa. we have gara (kara), strong; the causative of which is sigiri, to strengthen, to make strong. In Sam. we find a word vili in viligia, to air, dry in the wind, and in savili, to blow. Compare fue and safue, to beat; lulu and salulu, to shake. Compare also My. salam (Ja. silam) to dive, immerge, plunge, with kalam, to sink to to the bottom, and dalam, deep. f. The signification of the Se. causative form is 1, transitive or causative; 2, intransitive; and 3, intensive: see the Se. Grammars, and particularly Syr. Gr. § 23, 2, and § 24, 2, comparing the Mod. Syr. It may be remarked that Saphel (Shaphel) is commoner in Fa. and My., and Thaphel (Tiphel) in Tahitian, than they are in, for instance, Hebrew.

NOTE 1.—The force and use of My. causative prefix ma (Ja. a) has been somewhat obscured by the enormous use in that dialect of the transitive suffixes, or rather suffix i (ki), kan, yet Marsden rightly called it the "transitive prefix."

NOTE 2.—In Mg. manka (for maka), and maha are identical, being the one a mere phonetic variation of the other.

B. The Reflexive or Reciprocal.

In Mg., My., Fa., and Sam., along with the causative or transitive, we find the intransitive Reflexive or Reciprocal forms, now to be considered :

a. The simple Reflexive.

Mg.	My.	Fa.	Sam.
mi	be, bar	[<i>i</i> , <i>ia</i>]	[ina, ia, &c.]
miha iha	Madura e		

Mg. i is the reflexive pronoun, self. It is identical with the personal pronoun, third person, in Mg., My., Fa., and Sam. In Madura, e is the same; thus causative Mg. ma, a, Madura a, reflexive Mg. mi, i, Madura e. This latter is called the passive (for which it serves), by Crawford. Fa. ior ia, is simply the pronoun, third person singular, used also for "self" in the accusative; and Sam. i, in ina, and ia, is the same, and used thus, forms in that dialect, and Ma.-Ha. generally, the passive, that is, the reflexive-passive.

Comparison-

The Mg. reflexive form compares substantially with the Assy. and Heb. niphal, Arb. infala, and Sab. similar forms. This ancient Semitic form is made by prefixing to the verb the reflexive pronoun (in Heb. hin), apparently the personal pronoun, third person, strengthened by the demonstrative n, and this n is often assimilated. This personal, in Heb. hua,

hia, is identical with the Oc., Mg. i. Sam. suffixes both the Mg. i, as ia, and the Semitic in, as ina. Mg. also suffixes ina, using it for the passive, like the Sam.

It is remarkable that the Mg. and Javanese infix retains the n, as does the Semitic, thus Mg. *fitaka*, deceit, *finataka*, deceived; *faoka*, wipe, *finaoka*, wiped; *vidy*, buy, *vinidy*, bought. So Javanese *charita*, a tale, *chinarita*, to be told; *rayah*, to plunder, *rinayah*, to be plundered; *panggih*, to find, *pinanggih*, to be found, (Crawford, Diss. pp. 24, 27). The Arb. XIV. and XV. forms infix n after the second consonant of the triradical verb. So of quadrilaterals, the IIIRD form " corresponds to the VIITH of the triradical, with this difference, that the characteristic n is not prefixed, but inserted between the second and third radicals," Wr. Gr. § 71.

In Assy. the compound reflexive tan is infixed after the first radical in "Iftaneal," as *ictum*, *ictantum*. In Amh. this tan is prefixed.

b. The Reflexive prefix ta.

This, as already observed, occurs (see above, A. e.) in Fa. taferafera, My. tabur, scattered, of which see the causative in the place cited. So Fa. tagara, strong (Shaphel sigiri, to make strong), My. tagar, id. Fa. folo, to twist, tafolo, twisted, &c., &c. See Codrington, work cited, for this prefix in other Papuan dialects, pp. 183-4. Sam. fuli, tafuli, Fa. tafulus; fo'i, tafo'i, to turn over, return; tagulu, My. dangkur, to snore, Fa. goro, koro; My. ngrok. My pelaka, broad, mitapelaka, to be wide; boroaku, taboroaka, bored through; borotsaka, mitaborotsaka, to slip. My. prefixed tar, "passive," may be this ta and r reflexive pronoun (as in bar, see below): cf. Amh., as to form of compound tan.

Comparison-

Fa. bora, to slit, tear lengthwise, Arb. fara, id.; Fa. tabáre, to be opened (as a door), to be chinked, Arb. tafarre (VTH form) slit, rent. This ta, reflexive pronoun, is also the prefix of the Arb. VITH form; it compares with the Syr. eth, in Ethpeel, Ethpaal, &c. The Arb. VTH is made by prefixing this ta to the IIND, which is intensive by doubling, like Piel, the second radical. Hence in Fa. this form is often intensive, as bisa, to speak, tabisa, to speak earnestly; usi, to investigate, täusi, to investigate thoroughly, Arb. takuzzi, id. Fa. usi is for kusi, the k being sometimes pronounced. This ta is prefixed in the three Eth. "Reflexive-

The Verb.

Passive" forms, and in the Amh. IVTH form (passive and reflexive."

	c. The Recip	rocal Prefix.	
Mg.	My.	Fa.	Sam.
ifa	be, bar	bi, fi	fe
		Fi. vei	
		Fagani <i>fai</i>	
		Mota vur	

This combines the causative and the reflexive prefixes, the Mg. being reflexive and causative, the others causative and reflexive; and in Fi. and Sam., are suffixed also to the verb with this prefix, the transitive particles, e.g., ni in Fi. veilomani, Sam. fealofani. The causative prefix alone, or aided by these, directs the attention away to a more distant and complicated object, to "one another," instead of "oneself" (reflexive form). But it is the same reflexive pronoun i, in both the simple Reflexive and the Reciprocal. The My. bar compares with the Mota var (Codrington), but bar forms intransitives, or the simple Reflexive, var the Reciprocal. Is this r = diri (My.) = self? My. be much used in talking (Marsden), as bar is in writing, may be identical with Sam, fe. Fa. bi, fi form is sometimes reciprocal, and sometimes intransitive or simple reflexive, like Malay.

Comparison-

The prefix in Syr. Ethtaphal, like the Mg. is reflexive and causative, Assy. *Itaphal*, and that in Assy. *Istaphal* or *Istanaphel*, is like the My., Fa., and Sam. causative and Reflexive; so (by "transposition") Syr. Eshtaphel. In these we have *eth* or *ta* (see *b*.), or *tan*. As to meaning, there is exact enough correspondence; "Eshtaphel has sometimes a passive, and sometimes a reciprocal signification, or it forms intransitives : see Syr. Gr., § 24, 2.

§ 11. The Passive Voice.

In Oc., the passive voice is either formed by a, the reflexive pronoun attached to the verb, or b, a verb substantive, or c, it is marked by a prefixed m. As to a—

- 1. ina. ana
- 2. fina, nina, mina sina, tina

Sam.

 ina, ia, a
 fia, gia, lia mia, sia, tia

Mg.

In 1 we have the Oc.-Se. reflexive pronoun alone in i, ia, a, or strengthened by the demonstrative n (see § 10, B. a.). But here it is suffixed, there prefixed or infixed. In 2, the initial consonants f, r, m, &c., in mina or mia, fina or fia, &c., are the transitive or verb object particles: see § 9, e. Halevy (Ro. Gr. § §55-6) observes," It is remarkable that some of the active verbs of the Eastern dialects seem to be derived from the passive forms of New Zealand, as . . . kini, N.Z., to pinch, passive kinitia, Hawaiian 'initi, to pinch." This verb is in Fa. kini, as kini naus, "nip reeds," kinitia, "nip or pinch it." Thus kinitia is not passive at all in Fa., and the t is simply the transitive particle directing the action of the verb to ia, "it," or "self." When Fa uses this ia (or i) for "self," as it sometimes does (with and without a transitive particle), the expression is always reflexive, not passive; on the other hand, in Sam. the expression is always passive, the original reflexive meaning having passed into the passive.

1. The Malagasy, rarely the Ja., often infixes this *in*, which the Mg. usually, the Sam. always, suffixes, and the original reflexive meaning has passed into the passive. The Mg. drops, or does not use the *n* with the suffixed reflexive pronoun in the "Imperative passive," as "sotro, drink, sotroina, is drunk; imp. sotroy, let it be drunk, *i.e.* drink;" prefixed to the verb in Mg. it is also without the *n*, and reflexive rather than passive, as it is also in Sam. and Fa. (prefixed): § 10, *B. a. b.* The Se. Niphal form is much used as a passive.

2. The reflexive pronoun ta prefixed makes a form frequently used as a passive in Oc. and Se. My tar forms a passive : § 10, *B. a. b.* As to the "change of the reflexive into the passive" in Indo-European, as well as in Semitic, see the Note in Ges. Heb. Gr. § 51, p. 86.

b. The passive formed by a prefixed verb substantive.

My. Fa. (Pa.) di.-, ka-Fiji, ra-, ka-Ja. di-, ka-(My. kana)

My. di and Fi. ra are probably the same. My. di seems to be an abbreviation of the verb substantive ada, which is identical with Mg. ary and ala, Tig. ali, Eth. halo, see § 4, b.

The Verb.

In the Fa. ra does not form a passive, thus, usi, to follow, &c., rausi, to follow, literally, is following.

My. ka (and kana) is same as Fi. ka: for this verb substantive, see § 4, a. In Oc., as well as in Arb., it is found as an auxiliary, not only of tense and mood, but also of voice. Here as in Arb. (Newman, § 133) it is used "to make a passive verb, as in English." This formation is also found in Ma. and Mg.

c. The passive (in a limited sense) marked by a prefixed m. This m is the participial m, and it is of course not to it that the passive force of the word is due.

- Fa. *ligi, ligisi*, to pour out, passive *maligisi, maligi*, Sam. *maligi*, poured out.
- Fa. *lubaki*, to pour out, passive *malubaki*, poured out; reflexive-passive, *talubaki*, id.

Mg.	My.	Fa.	Sam.
malemy	lamah	meilum	(soft)
malemilemy	•	meilumlum	
manify .	nipis, mimpis	manifenifi	manifinifi (thin)
mafanafana mafana	panao	(ben)	mafanafana Ma.mahana, warm

These are simply participles or verbal adjectives, and correspond to the Semitic participles or verbal adjectives, formed from the active or passive voice of the verb, by prefixing m. In Ma., mahana is an adjective, "warm;" in Tahiti, it is a noun, signifying "the sun," "a day."

d. The Fa. like the Mod. Syr., makes little use of the passive, and like the Mod. Syr. can only express it usually by a periphrasis.

§ 12. THE VERBAL NOUNS.

a. The verbal noun suffix, ana, an.

In Mg., My., Fa., and Sam., a verbal noun is formed by suffixing to the verb *n*, *an*, *ana*; this in Sam. and Ma.-Ha., has been corrupted to *nga*, *anga*. This verb may have suffixed to it a transitive particle, before taking the verbal noun particle; thus My. *minum*, has the transitive particle

Fa. baku, to pluck out, mafaku, Sam. mafa 'ifa 'i, plucked out.

m, to which the an is suffixed, giving minuman. Hina in Ma.-Ha. (cf. Halevy, Po. Gr. § 57), we have the simple anga, and with the transitive particles, kanga, manga, &c.; and so in Mg., My., and Fa., see § 9, e. In Fa. at least, the verbal noun, with, has a slightly different meaning from that without the particle; with it, it is active, without it, passive (cf. Halevy, loc. cit.) The verbal noun of mate, to die, is in Mg., hafatesana, My., kamatian, Fa., namatiana, Mangareva (Ma.-Ha.), materanga, (and matenga), dying, death. My. and Fa. are without a transitive particle, but Mg. and Mang. have the one s, the other r: see § 9, e. for lists.

b. The Verbal Noun Prefixes.

1. In the above words, hafatisana, My. kamatian, ka, ha is prefixed, and in Fa. namatian, na is prefixed. Fa. na is the article, and ka (ha), is an article also; see III. § 5. This article ka, with another pronominal element, i, as kai, prefixed, forms in Maori the verbal noun denoting the agent, as hanga, make, kaihanga, maker.

2. The relative article in My. forming the verbal noun denoting the agent, is pa, connected with the interrogative pa and for ma, see III. § 5. In Mg. this is mp (and f), as in the case of (the identical) participial m, § 10, A. e., note 2. Examples—My. pambunuh, Mg. mpamono, a killer, one who kills. The same relative article, My. p, Mg. f, is used with the verbal noun that is formed by the suffix an, as My. pambunuhan, murder; and Mg. has fahafatisana, as well as hafatisana, death. Mg. fisotro, drink tea, is an example of the f prefixed, without the suffixed an.

It will be observed that the suffix an gives the verbal noun a passive signification. Fa. famien (fami, to eat), may mean eatable, to eat, for eating, and food.

c. Comparison—

1. Suffix an. We find this in all the Semitic languages, and the word *korlean*, offering, may be taken as an example. In Eth., Dillm. Gr. § 122, -an and -na form abstract substantives, as, *berhan*, light, from *barha*, to be bright, and *erekan*, and *erekana*, nudity, from *areka*, nudus fuit; so Fa. *malamala*, to be naked, *malamalan*, nakedness. Dillmann says of this an "sie ist sicher fürwortlichen ursprungs." It is the common Se. demonstrative an, na: see III. §§ 1-2.

2. The prefixes p, mp, f, are all phonetic variations of the one original m. This is the m, of pronominal origin, that plays so conspicuous a part as a formative prefixed letter in the Se. languages, forming nouns from verbs. Thus the Aram. (cf. Ges. Gr. § 84, II. 14) forms the infinitive of the verb by it, and (Isenberg, Amh. Gr. 62) in Amh. "the infinitive or verbal substantive is formed by the prefixion of $m\alpha$ to the simple form." Dillmann (Eth. Gr. § 113) says: "dagegen ist der in allen Semitischen Sprachen vielgebrauchti Vorsaz ma im Sinne von der, welcher, oder das, was (der Fragewurzel § 63 entstammerd), auch im Aeth. überaus stark verbreitet um Aussagewörter, näbur Participia mit participähnlichen Adjectiven, und Sachwörter abzuleiten." Like Mg. mp, My. pa, this Eth. ma forms the verbal noun denoting the agent, Dillm. § 114. And like Mg. f, My. p, this Eth. ma forms nouns denoting the instrument, vessel, production, thing of any kind, action, manner of the action, Dillm. § 115.

§ 13. The foregoing discussion covers a good deal, but not the whole of the ground.

Corrections-

I. § 25. The comparison between tomi and tome is given up.

II. § 11, 3. It should have been stated that Sumatra sakoorang, 9, is perhaps from sa, 1, and koorang, "less."

ART. II.—On the Fungi Growing in Mines.

By HENRY THOMAS TISDALL, F.L.S.

[Read March 10, 1887.]

PART I.

The northern portion of the district between the River Thompson and the River M'Allister, in Gippsland, is covered with a series of hills, ranging from 1000 to 3000 feet above the level of the sea. These hills form three main ridges running northward, and culminating in Mounts Aberfeldy and Useful.